2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 326] a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

PUBLIC HEALTH

The hygienic education of the people has 744
met with great success.

A part of the health program of Albania is the improvement of sanitation in all the villages and towns.

The Albanian doctors are graduates of the 759
medical schools of various foreign universities, mostly of Vienna, Austria, and are rapidly becoming specialists in their fields.

In addition to the hospitals, there are, 743
naturally, clinics, dispensaries and other sanitary and hygienic institutions.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

For Sciatica.—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered—a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1

These, with the knives of circumcision, complete the armamentarium of Turkish surgery in these parts.

The peasant doctor, on the other hand, seldom has any special instruments, but employs ordinary knives, sharp stones, crystals, thorns, lumps of sugar, needles, coins, and what he himself can make out of wood, such as splints. Here and there a special silver needle is kept for acupuncture and inoculation. Feathers are used in applying salves. The sorcerer or seeress has generally a black-handled knife, which should be made or specially or ritually prepared; and the rest of the paraphernalia is selected from objects in common use.

The barbers and travelling doctors have a fixed scale of charges, and so have many village specialists. When a man cannot pay immediately, he is required to leave a pledge. Such specialists can draw patients from a great distance, and make considerable profits, though in fear of restrictions, due, they say, to the jealousy of the gentlemen doctors. Most of them provide the drug, or prepare it specially for each patient; many keep a stock of their standard ointment or medicine; some only give advice and oral prescriptions. At Otok it was believed that the doctors would lose the protection of the *vile* if they charged more than a certain minimum fee. Those who write charms, and these are mostly Mohammedan *hodjas*, have also a fixed tariff.

Before the coming of qualified doctors to Serbia (first in 1819) who, until the foundation of the Medical Faculty at Belgrade in 1920, were trained abroad, and in early times were exclusively foreigners, the arts of healing were practised regularly by various native self-taught doctors, folk-doctors proper, and by travelling specialists, such as the *kaliatroi* from Epirus. These latter, whose learning was generally hereditary, travelled mostly in groups, and as far as Bosnia and Serbia. Members of this old school are still found in remoter places of the South and in Albania. In the provinces under Turkey the same system continued until very recent years, with here and there an oriental trained doctor in the towns.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pësmëlin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated